[Sir Hudibras addressing the Mob.]

HUDIBRAS.—No. IV.

The second canto, according to the argument prefixed, contains

> "The catalogue and character
> Of th' enemy's best men of war;
> Whom, in a bold harangue, the Knight
> Defies, and challenges to fight:
> H' encounters Talgol, routs the Bear,
> And takes the Fiddler prisoner;
> Conveys him to enchanted castle,
> And shuts him up in wooden Bastile."

This is literally all the *action* detailed in the eleven hundred and seventy-nine lines of the canto, and which is filled instead with satire of the purest, the truest, and the most discursive kind. Butler's error, considered artistically, was in selecting too trivial a subject as the medium of conveying his thoughts to the world. He not only did this, but he took a side,

> "And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

Friends and foes have alike joined in punishing him for this, by refusing, or at least neglecting, to see much beyond this. Churchmen have said, "See the character of the men of the great rebellion!" and contend for its personages and adventures as for true history; dissenters have objected to it as vulgar ribaldry. The learned Dr. Zachary Grey, in the preface to his edition of Hudibras, says, "The reader, 'tis hoped, will better apprehend and relish the satire couched in this poem when he is acquainted with the persons and transactions at which it is levelled." He adds that in all previous editions it had been generally supposed "that those renowned champions Crowdero, Orsin, Talgol, Magnano, Cerdon, Colon, and the brave heroine Trulla, were only imaginary persons, from whence many have concluded these adventures to be romantic and fabulous, instead of true history," as he undertakes to prove them to be; and gives, on the authority of Sir Roger L'Estrange, "who, being personally acquainted with the poet, undoubtedly received the secret from him," what he considers the facts of this history.

This secret and these facts consist in telling us that Crowdero was one Jackson, a milliner in the Strand; that Orson was Joshua Gostling, the keeper of the bears at Paris Garden; that Talgol "was a butcher in Newgate Market, who afterwards obtained a captain's commission for his rebellious bravery at Naseby," &c. But what does this information furnish? A fiddler, a bear-ward and his bear, a butcher with his dog, an ostler, a travelling tinker with his doxy, and a cobbler, are, we may almost say, the necessary constituents of a bear-baiting mob, and what is there in the poem characteristic of an individual? Did the "butcher in Newgate Market" make the speech commencing

> "thou vermin wretched
> As e'er in measled pork was hatched:
> Thou tail of worship, that dost grow
> On rump of justice, as of cow"?

If not, the secret amounts to no more than that there was a "butcher in Newgate Market" who went to a bear-bait; and the same of the rest—a fact we can readily admit, and also that the author knew this important fact. But as to its increasing our relish of the satire, that we altogether deny. Indeed, with regard to the butcher, the speech is so little in unison with what had been previously stated, that Dr. Grey is compelled to suppose that "probably Talgol might then be a cavalier," "notwithstanding Sir Roger L'Estrange (his only authority) has asserted to the contrary."

We are extremely anxious, perhaps unnecessarily so, to clear the poem from the exaggerated importance attributed to its political tendency. That Butler was a hearty and even passionate royalist and churchman we may admit—too good a one, we have no doubt, to have acknowledged for a moment that by such characters as he has here exhibited the downfall of the hierarchy and monarchy had been effected, and the gallant cavaliers combated and defeated. He believed in no such degrading impossibility, but he placed in the mouths, or on the shoulders, of low and ridiculous imaginary personages, the culled absurdities of doctrine, peculiarities of expression, and the culpable actions, of any of the parties or sects* opposed to his own, perhaps even some personal features of individuals, interspersing the whole with his own never-failing wit, and honest exposure of and scorn for mere pretence, wherever existing.

Bear-baiting was by no means a peculiarly puritanical amusement, but rather the contrary. It had been patronised by monarchs, and supported by the aristocracy. Mr. J. P. Collier, in his 'Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College,' informs us, that when he wished to, indeed when he did, retire from the stage, "he was compelled by virtue of his office of Master of the Games," which he held from the king, "to superintend the affairs of the Bear Garden." By the patent of his office "he was authorised 'to take up' any bears, bulls, or dogs, in any part of the kingdom, for the service of his majesty, on payment of what might be considered a reasonable price." This power was deputed, and Mr. Collier has given a curious case of dispute arising from the attempt to take a gentleman's dog in Cheshire, but who charged the deputy dog-providers "for his majesty's service" with theft, and the justices only refrained from committing them by their "seeing the great seal of England, and their deputations." But these rude sports had a stronger hold upon the popular feelings than the *vanities*, as they were called, of dress, or dancing, or music, or church rituals. Many a one could subdue his respect for plum-porridge who could not refrain from enjoying a bout at single-stick, or attending a bear or bull-bait, or partaking in a game of cricket. Of course, such persons were not religious leaders, but they were often hearty followers. Notwithstanding what Dr. Grey has said of the characters of the heroes on this occasion, we think an unprejudiced person will discover but few puritanical features in their description, with the exception of Cerdon the cobbler, who is said to be a preacher, and of course as such must have been a dissenter. The characters indeed are merely sketches—it is the illustrations that gem the frame-work in such rich profusion that constitute the real attraction of the poem.

The Knight and Squire are represented as proceeding

> "Until they reach'd the fatal champain
> Which th' enemy did then encamp on;
> The dire Pharsalian plain, where battle
> Was to be wag'd 'twixt puissant cattle,
> And fierce auxiliary men
> That came to aid their brethren:
> Who now began to take the field,
> As Knight from ridge of steed beheld,
> For as our modern wits behold
> Mounted a pick-back on the old,
> Much further off, much further he
> Raised on his aged beast could see."

This last allusion is to the question then warmly contested as to the superiority of ancient or modern learning, in which Boyle, Temple, Swift, and many others took an active part.

> "I' th' head of all this warlike rabble,
> Crowdero marched, expert and able.
> Instead of trumpet and of drum,
> That makes the warrior's stomach come,
> Whose noise whets valour sharp, like beer
> By thunder turn'd to vinegar;
> (For if a trumpet sound, or drum beat,
> Who has not a month's mind to combat?)
> A squeaking engine he applied,
> Unto his neck on north-east side,
> Just where the hangman does dispose,
> To special friends, the knot of noose:
> For 'tis great grace when statesmen straight
> Dispatch a friend, let others wait."

With the addition that

> "His grisly beard was long and thick,
> With which he strung his fiddlestick;"

and that at a bull-baiting in Staffordshire

> "his leg, then broke,
> Had got a deputy of oak,"

we have the whole of the materials found sufficient for identifying Crowdero with Jackson the milliner in the Strand, who lost his leg in the service of the Roundheads and then became a fiddler. The succeeding figure is the "marshal to the champion Bear:"

> "This leader was of knowledge great,
> Either for charge, or for retreat.
> He knew when to fall on pell-mell,
> To fall back and retreat as well.
> So lawyers, lest the bear defendant,
> And plaintiff dog, should make an end on't,
> Do stave and tail with writs of error,
> Reverse of judgment, and demurrer,
> To let them breathe awhile, and then
> Cry whoop, and set them on again.
> As Romulus a wolf did rear,
> So he was dry-nursed by a bear,
> That fed him with the purchased prey
> Of many a fierce and bloody fray;
> Bred up, where discipline most rare is,
> In military Garden Paris.
> For soldiers heretofore did grow
> In gardens, just as weeds do now;
> Until some splay-foot politicians
> T' Apollo offer'd up petitions,
> For licensing a new invention
> Th'ad found out of an antique engine,
> To root out all the weeds that grow
> In public gardens at a blow,
> And leave th' herbs standing. Quoth Sir Sun,
> My friends, that is not to be done.
> Not done? quo' statesmen; yes an't please ye,
> When 'tis once known, you 'll say 'tis easy.
> Why then let 's know it, quoth Apollo:
> We 'll beat a drum, and they 'll all follow.
> A drum! (quoth Phœbus) troth that 's true,
> A pretty invention quaint and new.
> But tho' of voice and instrument
> We are th' undoubted president;
> We such loud music don't profess,
> The Devil 's master of that office,
> Where it must pass, if 't be a drum,
> He 'll sign it with Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

* Within a few lines of the end of page 61, this word has been transformed into *sort*; the passage should read—"the features of a sect rather than an individual."

To him apply yourselves, and he
Will soon dispatch you for his fee.
They did so, but it prov'd so ill,
Th'ad better let 'em grow there still.
But to resume what we discoursing
Were on before, that is, stout Orsin:
That which so oft by sundry writers
Has been apply'd t' almost all fighters,
More justly may b' ascrib'd to this,
Than any other warrior (viz.)
None ever acted both parts bolder,
Both of a chieftain and a soldier.
He was of great descent and high,
For splendour and antiquity,
And from celestial origine
Deriv'd himself in a right line.
Not as the ancient heroes did,
Who, that their base births might be hid,
(Knowing they were of doubtful gender,
And that they came in at a windore)
Made Jupiter himself and others
O' th' gods, gallants to their own mothers,
To get on them a race of champions,
(Of which old Homer first made lampoons)
Arctophylax in northern sphere
Was his undoubted ancestor;
From him his great forefathers came,
And in all ages bore his name:
Learned he was in med'c'nal lore,
For by his side a pouch he wore,
Replete with strange hermetic powder,
That wounds nine miles point blank would solder,
By skilful chymist with great cost
Extracted from a rotten post."

But we must reserve the remainder of the characters for another opportunity.

PALISSY.

[Concluded from page 152.]

All the rest of his labours, poor Palissy had to encounter alone; though his hands were so cut and bruised with his work, that he was obliged, he says, to eat his pottage as well as he could with his hands wrapped in linen rags. The handmill in which he ground his materials required the power of two strong men to work it, yet he was wholly without assistance. Nor were his disappointments yet at an end. After having, with infinite pains and considerable cost, constructed a new oven, it turned out that the mortar he had used was full of flints,—probably the refuse of his materials; and when the furnace was heated, these flints flew, and attached themselves to his pottery, so that it was completely spoiled.

"On passing the hand over my vases," says he, "little fragments of flint were perceptible, which cut like a razor. I instantly determined to break them up, rather than sell them in a deteriorated state for what they would fetch, which might have injured the reputation of my discovery. But no sooner had I done so, than I was beset by the maledictions of my starving family and the mockery of my neighbours, who treated me as a madman for not having realized a few crowns by my damaged goods."

Nevertheless the man of genius toiled resolutely on!—Satisfied of the strength that was in him, and of the importance of his discovery, he went to work again, with an injured credit and constitution, an object of hatred to some and contempt to others. From the exhausting nature of his labours, his arms and legs had become like sticks; so that, according to his own brief description, there was nothing to keep up his garters, and his stockings came upon his heels as he walked, till he was the picture of wretchedness and destitution. Between the action of the prodigious heat of his furnace, and the influence of the rain and frost on his ill-constructed works, the place was frequently unroofed, compelling him to borrow the materials for its reparation. But this was not always to be accomplished; and he tells us that he often remained watching his oven through the winter nights, exposed to wind and weather, with the owls hooting on one side and the dogs howling on the other.

"Wet to the skin with the beating in of the heavy rains, and groping about in the dark for want of a candle, I have often retired to rest at midnight, or even at day-break," says he, "looking like some drunken wretch who had been rolling in a gutter. But the worst I had to suffer was from the accusations of my neighbours, who had assisted me, and who now regarded me as a robber; and the reproaches of my family, who treated me as a selfish lunatic."

This is but a faint outline of the miseries and fatigues sustained by poor Bernard Palissy, in bringing to perfection an art which has proved so highly beneficial to his own and other countries. The furnaces and ovens of his invention are still in use at Sèvres, and have been closely copied in our own and other porcelain-works. The moulds in which the vases are baked to secure them from accident, were devised by Palissy after his unlucky loss from the flying of the flints; and his recipes for the mixing of colours are still patent.

The porcelain of Palissy soon attained a prodigious reputation, and few museums or collections of objects of *virtù* in our own time but contain specimens of his works, under the name of Raphael ware, or china of the middle ages. The embossed dishes exhibiting reptiles and animals, in great perfection, were the invention of Palissy; and several of his dishes and vases present copies after celebrated pictures, executed in relief. Table services, to replace the wooden and pewter vessels then in use, were the chief objects to which he devoted his art; and with so much taste and skill, that many of the original designs exhibit the genius of a first-rate sculptor.

The fame of his discovery extended rapidly through France, and orders were given him by all the nobles of the court of Henri II.: among others, by the Duc de Montmorency, who employed him to decorate his stately château of Ecouin. One of the chambers was paved with tiles of Palissy's porcelain; which still remain perfect, unless where the design has been destroyed by the introduction of one of those huge ungraceful N's which, during the empire, were made to disfigure all the ancient public edifices of France.

It was while he was occupied in working for the Connétable de Montmorency, that the artist was fated to undergo a new species of persecution. Being a strict Huguenot, his manufactory was denounced by the Commission despatched into Saintonge, under the command of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld; and the Catholics of Saintes caused him to be arrested and sent to Bordeaux, to be burnt at the stake. But the reputation of Palissy was now so deservedly great, that having presented a memorial to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, he was rescued by her intervention from this terrible sentence. It was probably in gratitude for her interference that he invented the miniature statues, or *figulines*, of the king and queen-mother, to which he frequently recurs—a name derived from *figulus*, or working in clay.

Thus driven from his native place, Palissy established himself in Paris, where he commenced the first collection of natural history ever attempted in France, and a series of experiments in chemistry and metallurgy of the highest importance. George Agricola, who passes among the French for the father

of the latter science, was just then publishing his treatises on mineralogy. But he wrote in Latin, of which Palissy did not understand a word; and it was the laborious experimentalist who was the first to communicate to his countrymen at large the mysteries of the bowels of the earth. The first course of public lectures ever given in Paris was by Palissy, who placarded the walls of the city with an intimation that for the price of one crown he was ready to communicate to all who were desirous of information the whole of his discoveries in physics and natural history, and to argue with those who were prepared for refutation. Such as were not satisfied with his instructions were to receive back their crown on demand. Palissy has informed us that the return of the crown was not in a single instance demanded; and he has also furnished us with a list of his audience, which appears to have comprised the leading nobles, prelates, and magistrates of the time. In order to appreciate the merit of his undertaking, be it remembered that at that period a royal astrologer monopolised the scientific patronage of the court; and that alchemy was cultivated, not alone by the ignorant, but the learned of the times. The city was moreover distracted by civil wars, and the bold lecturer who, without understanding a syllable of the learned languages, had thus thrown down the gauntlet to all the philosophers of the age, belonged to the persecuted party. Nevertheless he continued to assemble around him the most remarkable personages among the learned of his day: and the simple-hearted but enthusiastic old potter, after wasting his best days over his miserable furnace, had the glory of enlightening the minds of the most enlightened.

In that original course of lectures, the branch of science to which Cuvier has added in our own time such remarkable illustration was first called into existence. Palissy was the first to assert that the fossil shells and plants hitherto esteemed a sport of nature, were the identical objects in a state of transformation. The modern theory of the earth was shadowed forth in his assertions concerning the nature and origin of fossil fishes, which for more than a century afterwards were suffered to lie dormant. By this wondrous instinct of an uninstructed mind, the memory of Palissy became exposed to the sneers of the more learned but far more ignorant Voltaire, who speaks of him as "a visionary." "Palissy and his shells" afforded a fertile theme for the pleasantries of one to whom a jest was more available than a fact.

Poor Palissy had now tasted as largely of the sweets of fame and prosperity as was compatible with the evil spirit of the hour. While still collecting around him a host of eager disciples, he was seized and flung into prison. But for the intervention of the Duc de Mayenne, immediate execution would have followed his arrest; and the venerable professor, who was now eighty-eight years of age, was incarcerated in the Bastille, to secure him from an ignominious death.

Some months afterward he was visited in prison by Henri III., who was making a round of inspection in his heretic-coop. "*Mon bonhomme*," said his majesty, "unless you can manage to conform in matters of religion, I am under the necessity of giving you up to your enemies."

"Sire," replied the poor old man, "I am content to dedicate the remnant of my days to the glory of God. I am sorry to hear so great a king pronounce that he is under the necessity of acting against his conscience, and in that particular am greater than my sovereign or those by whom he is constrained; for I have no fear of death, and am consequently independent."

A few days afterward, Bernard Palissy expired in the Bastille, in the fulness of his years and virtues, about the year 1588.

The works he has left us are of high and varied interest, comprising treatises on medicine, agriculture, hydraulics, fortification, in addition to those on metallurgy and chemistry. The history of the Reformed church in his native province, for which we are indebted to his pen, is equal to the works of the best historians of his age. But, above all, the shrewdness of his observations, penetrating his simplicity of manners and language, has afforded an invaluable addition to the moral history of those troubled times.

Such was Bernard Palissy, who, in addition to the creation of an important mechanical art, called into existence the germs of our most valuable scientific theories and institutions,—the first china-maker in France—the first public lecturer—the first originator of a collection of natural history—the first to assert the nature of fossil remains, and to create a school of mines and forests. In England he is chiefly noted as the first writer upon springs and fountains. But his memory is entitled to higher reverence, as that of a zealous and persevering man of genius, who overcame by energy of mind the united evils of persecution, poverty, and ignorance.

Distribution of Capital.—Capitalists do not easily enter a trade or withdraw from it. In a country so exquisitely organized as England, it is true that capital moves with velocity, where the capitalist cannot move; and of this we have a luminous explanation in Ricardo. Ricardo, who, as a stockbroker, stood in the very centre of the vast money-machinery accumulated in London, had peculiar advantages for observing and investigating the play of this machinery. If our human vision were fitted for detecting agencies so impalpable, and if a station of view could be had, we might sometimes behold vast arches of electric matter continually passing and re-passing between either pole and the equatorial regions. Accordingly, as the equilibrium were disturbed suddenly or redressed, would be the phenomena of tropical hurricanes or of auroral lights. Somewhat in the same silent arches of continual transition, ebbing and flowing like tides, do the re-agencies of the capital accumulated in London modify, without sound or echo, much commerce in all parts of the kingdom. Faithful to the monetary symptoms, and the fluctuations, this way or that, eternally perceptible in the condition of every trade, the great moneyed capitalist, standing at the centre of this enormous web, throws over his arch of capital, or withdraws it, with the precision of a fireman directing columns of water from an engine upon the remotest quarter of a conflagration. It is not, as Ricardo almost professionally explains to us, by looking out for new men qualified to enter an aspiring trade, or by withdrawing some of the old men from a decaying trade, that the equilibrium is recovered. Such operations are difficult, dilatory, often personally ruinous, and disproportionately noisy to the public ear in the process of execution. But the true operation goes on as silently as the growth of light. The moneyed man stands equidistantly related to many different staple interests—the silk trade, the cotton trade, iron trade, the timber and grain trade. Rarely does he act upon any one of them by direct interpolation of new firms, or direct withdrawals of old ones. An effect of this kind is generally as much beyond his power as beyond his interest. Not a man has been shifted from his station; possibly not a man has been intruded; yet power and virtue have been thrown into vast laboratories of trade, like shells into a city. But all has been accomplished in one night by the inaudible agency of the Post-office, co-operating with the equally inaudible agencies of capital, moving through banks and through national debts, funded or unfunded. Such is the perfection of our civilization. By the simple pressure of a finger upon the centre of so vast an organization, a breath of life is hurried along the tubes—a pulse is enlivened or depressed—a circulation is precipitated or checked, without those ponderous processes of change indispensable on the Continent, and which so injuriously disturb the smooth working of general business.—*De Quincy's Political Economy.*

[Conway Castle.]

CONWAY CASTLE.

After the ancient Britons had been forced to retreat from the plains of England, and to shelter and defend themselves among the mountains of Wales, they maintained for several centuries a fierce struggle for independence against their Saxon and Norman oppressors. Many battles were fought on the border territories: sometimes they were driven back into their fastnesses, and compelled to admit the superiority, if not the supremacy, of the invaders, and to pay the tribute exacted from them; but no sooner was the pressure which kept them down relaxed or removed, than the fiery Welshmen were again in arms, and, rushing down upon the fruitful vales of the land which had belonged to their ancestors, they plundered the plunderers, devastating with sword and fire the homes of those who had so often made their own desolate. There had generally been a king of Wales, to whom the different chiefs were at least nominally subject, but in the tenth century the whole country was divided into the two principalities of North Wales and South Wales, both of which were compelled to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of Athelstan as king of England, and to pay an annual tribute. This tribute was reluctantly paid to the succeeding Saxon kings. On the accession of William the Conqueror the Welsh refused payment; he therefore invaded the country with a large army, and reduced them to obedience; but under William Rufus they were again in rebellion. In this uncertain state they continued, always oppressed but never effectually subdued, till the reign of Edward I. They had been slowly losing territory, especially in South Wales, by encroachments of the English barons, who, to defend their acquisitions, erected strong castles so near to each other as to form a chain of communicating fortresses, which extended from Chepstow to Milford Haven. The people of Wales still retained their simple and hospitable manners, and in times of peace they were gentle and courteous; their ancient laws and usages were yet unaltered; the bards continued to stimulate their martial spirit, and the conflicts with the English and the disputes and skirmishes among the Welsh chiefs themselves kept them in the continual practice of warfare. The conquest of the country was therefore no easy task, but required for its accomplishment such a king as Edward I., who was not only skilled in war, but one of the most resolute, persevering, cool, and politic kings that ever sat on the throne of England, and who, in the conquest of Wales, used all the "appliances and means to boot" of disunion fomented among the native chiefs, and of bribery to induce them to fight against their countrymen.

At the time when Edward I. determined on the conquest of Wales, Llewellyn was Prince of North Wales and Rees ap Meredith was Prince of South Wales. Llewellyn had formerly been in alliance with De Montfort, and had fought against Edward himself at the battle of Evesham, in which De Montfort was slain. Several years had passed away, during which Edward had been to the Holy Land, had succeeded his father Henry III. as King of England, had returned to his native country, and had summoned Llewellyn to appear at his court, to pay the feudal homage due to him as King of England. Meantime Llewellyn had entered into a contract of marriage with Elinor, the daughter of his unfortunate friend De Montfort. On her passage from France to Wales she had been intercepted and delivered to Edward, who held her a prisoner. Llewellyn was indignant at this treatment, and objected to appear at the court of Edward unless his affianced bride was set at liberty, and a safe-conduct was granted to himself, which Edward refused, and a war was the consequence. The Prince of South Wales and Llewellyn's own brother David joined the standard of the King of England with all their vassals. Edward advanced with a large army to Chester, crossed the Dee, took the fortresses of Rhuddlan and Flint, which he garrisoned, and, keeping a fleet on the coast to intercept all supplies for Llewellyn, patiently waited the

result of this blockade of North Wales. The result was such as Edward had anticipated. In November, 1277, Llewellyn, reduced to the extremity of destitution, was compelled to yield, and to submit to the hard terms which Edward imposed upon him—the forfeiture of nearly the whole of his territory and the imposition of a fine of 50,000*l*. This fine being much larger than so poor a country could pay, was of necessity remitted. Edward no doubt expected that all was now settled; but it was not so. David, seeing the result of the war, and that the territory to which he himself might have succeeded was wrested from his race, joined his brother Llewellyn, and North Wales was again in arms. On the night of Palm Sunday, 1282, David surprised and took the castle of Hawardine. A general insurrection ensued. The Welshmen rushed from their hills, and in many places drove the English beyond the marches, while David and Llewellyn laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Edward, by means of a forced loan, soon collected a large army, and again crossed the Dee. While David opposed Edward in North Wales, Llewellyn advanced to meet his enemies in South Wales, but he was slain in an engagement with the Earl of Mortimer, near Builth, in Breconshire, December 11, 1282. David, who now succeeded his brother as Prince of North Wales, kept up for a short time the unequal contest with Edward, whom he more than once defeated. Edward, as before, not only intercepted all supplies, but hired Basque mercenaries trained to mountain warfare, who tracked like bloodhounds the half-starved and ill-armed Welshmen to their last retreats. David at last was taken prisoner, and was barbarously put to death at Shrewsbury, by hanging, drawing, and quartering. The war was now at an end, and the slaughter of the Bards followed soon afterwards.

Edward now saw the necessity of securing his conquest. For this purpose he built the two strong castles of Caernarvon and Conway. Caernarvon Castle is described in the 'Penny Magazine,' No. 138, p. 207 (1834), and a general view of Conway has been given in No. 406, in the 'Tour in Wales,' No. 3.

Conway Castle was completed in 1284, and from the peculiar style and excellence of the architecture, was doubtless constructed by Henry Ellerton, or De Elreton, who built Caernarvon Castle. Conway Castle, when in its perfect state, must have been, as well from situation as from strength and beauty of structure, one of the most magnificent fortresses of Britain. The situation is precisely the lofty cliff on which Gray places his bard:—

> "On a rock whose haughty brow
> Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood."

The form of the castle was oblong, and extended along the verge of the precipitous rock, the base of which is washed by the river Conway, which winds round two of its sides so as to make it almost a peninsula. The inner wall of the castle fronted the town of Conway. Between the town and the castle there was a wide and deep ditch, which was crossed by a drawbridge to the principal entrance. A small entrance, defended by a strong advanced work, communicated with the river by narrow winding stairs cut in the rock. This is no doubt the postern entrance shown in the drawing at the head of this article. The walls of the castle were of great thickness, and were flanked by eight vast circular embattled towers, each of which had a slender machicolated watch-tower rising from the top, which produced an effect of great lightness and elegance. The two towers which flanked the grand entrance were called the King's Tower and the Queen's Tower, in each of which was a beautiful oriel window. The interior of the castle was divided into two courts. The apartments which they comprised can scarcely now be traced. The great hall curved conformably to the bend of the outer wall. It was 130 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 20 feet high. It had six narrow windows through the thick wall on the river side; three larger windows opened into the interior court, and there was another window still larger at one end; at the other end was the great fire-place, and there was a smaller fire-place at the side. The roof was supported by eight arches. Beneath were extensive vaults for ammunition and provisions. Edward I. and Queen Eleanor spent a Christmas here; and knights and ladies were revelling in this great hall while the conquered Welshmen were writhing beneath the sense of degradation as well as the oppressions and exactions to which they were forced to submit.

Conway town is of a triangular form, and stands on a steep slope towards the river. The lower side of the triangle extends from the castle along the bank of the river, where there is now a long quay, with a fine view upwards and downwards. The town was surrounded by a high wall twelve feet thick, strengthened by twenty-four circular and semicircular towers. It had four principal gateways; and, to prevent approach from the sea, a curtain, terminated with a round tower, ran out into the river from each end of the wall. At low water the river is less than fifty yards wide, and only about eight feet deep, and encumbered with shoals. At high water the width is about a mile. The harbour is dry at low water, and frequented only by a few coasting vessels. The population of the parish of Conway, in 1841, was 1358.

At the commencement of the civil war in the reign of Charles I., Conway Castle was held for the king by Dr. John Williams, Archbishop of York, who appointed his nephew William Hookes governor in 1643. In May, 1645, Prince Rupert superseded Dr. Williams in the command of North Wales, which, in its result, proved to be a change of ill policy. Williams seems to have had the spirit of one of the old warrior bishops. Disgusted and incensed, he applied to the parliament for a promise of forgiveness for his former opposition, which he easily obtained, and then joined Mytton in the reduction of Conway. The town was taken by storm, August 15, 1646. Bishop Williams was among the combatants, and was wounded in the neck. The castle surrendered, November 10, 1646. The castle was not dismantled by the parliament; but a grant of it had been made in the reign of Charles I. to the Earl of Conway and Kulalta, who, when he obtained possession in the reign of Charles II., directed his agent to remove the timber, iron, lead, and other materials of value, and to transport them to Ireland under pretence of the king's service, but in reality for the repairs of his own property. The royal commissioners for North Wales made a remonstrance against these proceedings in 1665, but it seems to have been without effect.

The castle is now very ruinous, but extremely picturesque. The view up and down the river is delightful.

THE MATERIALS EMPLOYED AS MONEY.

The ideas prevalent concerning money are often grounded on a vague conjecture that there is some intrinsic property in gold, silver, and copper, whereby those metals alone are fitted to be made into current coin. It is, however, chiefly from the mechanical properties of those metals, and from the comparative scarcity of the first two, that the selection has been made; and we shall find that various other materials have occasionally been employed.

In the earlier stages of society, the exchange of produce and goods was doubtless made by barter, each

person giving a commodity which he did not want for another which he desired to obtain. But it could not always be easy so to apportion the two commodities as to determine whether the one was an exact equivalent to the other. Hence arose the custom of employing a third article that should serve as a standard to which the other two might be compared. In accordance with the truth in mathematics, that "two quantities which are each equal to a third quantity are equal to each other," this third quantity in commerce, viz. money, is the means whereby the equality or equal value of the other two is determined. The third commodity was at first *cattle*, and there are many allusions in the early writers to commodities being valued at so many oxen. But as an ox is not only so bulky as to be transferred from one possessor to another with difficulty, but is also of too great value to be used as an equivalent for small purchases, the utility of adopting some less valuable and more divisible standard or money became apparent, and we accordingly find many substances to have been so employed, and to be so employed indeed in our own times.

Shells are at the present day current for money in many parts of the East. These shells are brought from the Maldive Islands, and are current in India under the name of *cowries*, while in Africa they obtain the name of *bouges*. In the kingdom of Congo there is said to be another kind of shell current, called *zimbi*. Two thousand of these zimbi form a *maconti* or *macinte;* and one of the writers on Central Africa some years ago stated that two Flemish knives were deemed worth a maconti; a copper basin, two pounds in weight and twelve inches in diameter, three maconti; a fusee, ten macontis, &c. The cowries of India circulate at the rate of about sixty-five for a copper coin nearly equivalent to a halfpenny.

Fruits have in some countries been used as money. In the last century (for matters are probably changed by this time) the *cacao* and the *maize* were current among the Mexicans as money: the former estimated so that fifteen should be equal to a Spanish rial. *Almonds* were used in some parts of India where cowries were not current. In proportion as the year's crop was good or bad, this kind of money fluctuated in value; but in average years about forty almonds were equivalent to a halfpenny sterling.

Those nations who subsist chiefly by the chace, such as the American Indians, are accustomed to use *peltry*, or skins, as money. The same material converted into leather has been occasionally employed. There is a comedy in which an allusion seems to point to the use of *leather* money in England before the Conquest: the wealth possessed by a lady has been buried with her, and one of the characters says—

> "Why this was such a firk of piety
> I ne'er heard of: bury her gold with her!
> 'Tis strange her old shoes were not inter'd too,
> For fear the days of Edgar should return,
> When they coined leather."

In a History of Allchester, printed in 1667, there is an allusion to money made of leather, in the following words:—"King Edward I. his leathern money, bearing his name, stamp, and picture, which he used in the building of Carnarvon, Beaumarish, and Conway castles, to spare better bullion, were, since I can remember, preserved and kept in one of the towers of Carnarvon Castle." Mr. Ruding, in referring to this passage, says that nothing further is known of these leather coins than what is here stated.

Sir John Mandeville, an early traveller, who does not bear a very high character for veracity, speaks of *leather* and *paper* money as having been in use in Tartary. As the subject was not exactly one of those which he was most likely to exaggerate, and has nothing improbable in itself, we will quote his account of the matter:—"This Emperour [the Khan of Tartary] may dispensen as moche as he will, withouten estymacioun. For he despendethe not, ne makethe no money, but of lether emprented, or of papyre. And of that money, is som of gretter prys, and somme of lasse prys, aftre the dyversitee of his statutes. And whan that money hathe ronne so longe that it begynnethe to waste, than men berin it to the emperoures tresorye; and than thei taken newe money for the olde. And that money gothe thorghe out alle the countree, and thorghe out all his provynces. For there and bezonde hem, thei make no money nouther of gold nor of silver. And therefore he may despende ynow and outrageously." Whether the khan could really spend "ynow and outrageously," even if his money were made of leather, involves a question in political economy which Mandeville was perhaps not quite able to solve.

Salt is used for money in some countries; it is cut into square or brick-shaped pieces, and passes from hand to hand as money. In remote ages *corn* was employed for the same purpose in agricultural countries; and even at the present day rents and agricultural wages are in some places estimated by a certain quantity of corn, which in this case serves the place of money. In Iceland and Newfoundland, where fishing forms an important part of the occupations of the inhabitants, *dried fish* performs the functions of money. In some of the West India Islands *sugar* has occasionally been used for the same purpose; and Adam Smith states that, at the time he wrote his 'Wealth of Nations,' there was a village in Scotland where it was customary for a workman to carry *nails*, as money, to the baker's shop or the alehouse.

But all such media of exchange are manifestly defective. They are perishable, or bulky, or liable to change considerably in value, or limited to the extent of district through which they circulate, or are deficient in some one or more of the qualities which money ought to possess. Metal of some kind or other seems to possess a greater number of qualities favourable for this purpose than any other substance; and we accordingly find that metal has been by far the most extensively used in all civilised countries.

Most of the common metals have been employed for this purpose, in greater or less degree, and in some country or other. Some of these we may mention in succession.

Brass.—In the reign of Henry VI. the master of the king's mint in Ireland was authorized by indenture to coin certain money; among which were brass coins to be of the value of one silver penny each, and to have a certain device; and others of a like weight and material to have a different device. Again, in Henry VIII.'s reign, the king, as is stated by Sir John Ware in his 'Annals,' "to maintain his charges in Ireland, being now hard put to it for lack of monies, by reason of the vast treasure wasted in his expedition into France and Scotland, and compelled by necessity, gave directions to coin brass money, and commanded it by proclamation to pass for current and lawful money in all parts of Ireland." In the time of James II., among the extraordinary shifts to which he was put in maintaining his position in Ireland, the king sent an order to the master-general of the ordnance, commanding him to deliver up two brass cannon to the master of the mint, for the purpose of having them melted and coined into money; and the following letter was also sent to the various collectors of the revenue in Ireland:—"We have great occasion for his Majesty's use to procure so much hammered or forged copper and brass as your parts can afford, and judging by the decay of trade and desolation of the country,

that there may be a great deal in your district or part, we desire you, by yourself and officers, to inform us presently what quantity you may be able to furnish us with, and what the current prices are of each. And wherever you can get, buy at the best rate you can, and as soon as you have four or five hundredweight, pray send it to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Mint." In a pamphlet published soon afterwards, the writer, in allusion to the above orders to *buy* these metals, says—"It seems that they not only bought, but pillaged even the citizens' kitchens, &c., because they found it difficult to get a sufficient supply of copper or brass for the Mint."

Tin.—This metal was coined into money by Charles II., in 1684; and his successor, who signalized himself by his brass money, issued some coins made of *gun-metal* and of *pewter*, each of which contains tin. But with respect to the tin farthings of Charles II., it was soon found that the king was likely to have the farthings sent to him in payment of taxes; and as this did not suit his purpose, the project was given up. *Iron* was used for money by some of the early nations. *Lead* was used for small coins in England in the reign of Henry VIII. The leaden money afterwards circulated seems to have been merely the tokens or substitutes for money mentioned in a former article (p. 110).

Endeavours have been made in modern times (and successfully as respects Russia) to use *platinum* as a material for money. With respect to *paper*-money, this is not so much actual money, as a representative or symbol of it; since the honour or good credit of those who issue it is the only thing which gives value to the paper—it having no intrinsic value in itself beyond the fraction of a farthing, which the piece of paper, as such, is worth.

But copper, silver, and gold have been the metals most employed for this purpose; the two latter as the proper and most fitting, and the former for the convenience of making very small payments. The solidity, divisibility, and durability of silver and gold, together with the limited supply and the pretty equable maintenance of value, are the chief qualities which recommend these metals for coinage.

In modern times the government has not to go about in search of gold and silver for conversion into money. There are bullion-dealers who buy ingots of gold and silver from abroad, or buy up foreign coins or old English coins, or fragments of gold which the refiner has procured from many sources and melted down into a mass; and the gold thus procured, if taken to the Mint under certain regulations and at certain appointed times, may be there coined into money, small deductions being made to pay the expense of coining.

But in former times the government were often sadly at fault as to the means of obtaining the precious metals for conversion into money. At one time it was ordered that no gold or silver should be taken out of the country; at another, that none should be used for plate, or gold lace, or unnecessary luxuries; at other times certain advantages were offered to the possessors of gold and silver, to induce them to have it coined.

We need hardly wonder if, when coin was scarce and the means for making it were also scarce, and when ignorance in matters of science greatly prevailed, there were attempts made, or at least hopes held out, to transmute the baser metals into gold by the mysteries of alchemy. We accordingly find such instances to have occurred. Edward III., after trying in vain to get a sufficient supply of bullion, is said to have looked to the skill of Raymond Lully, the alchemist, for a store. Ashmole has given a very circumstantial account of the bringing of Lully into England by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster; of his agreeing to make the king rich by his art, in consequence of that monarch's promise to enter into a war against the Turks; of his refusal to work any longer when he found that Edward would not keep that promise; and of his being shut up in the Tower in consequence. That Edward believed in the powers of alchemy for this purpose is proved by one of the Patent Rolls, which states that the king had been given to understand that John le Rous and William de Dalby could make silver by "art of alkemony;" that they had heretofore made it, and still did make it; and that by such making of that metal they could greatly profit the realm; he therefore commanded Thomas Carey to find them out, and to bring them before the king, with all the instruments and apparatus belonging to the said art: if they would come willingly, they were to be brought safely and honourably; but if not, they were to be seized, and brought before the king, wherever he might be.

Henry IV. seems to have believed in this art, and to have prohibited its exercise, probably from a fear lest the coinage should be tampered with. Henry VI. granted licences to different individuals, permitting them to follow the art and mystery of turning the baser metals into gold for coin. In the thirty-fifth year of his reign, however, after having been promised by these professors wealth sufficient to pay all his debts in gold and silver, and being foiled in his expectation, he issued a commission of inquiry into this art, the means by which it was carried on, and the probable grounds for success. The constitution of this commission was sufficiently strange; for it consisted of two or three friars, the queen's physician, a schoolmaster, an alderman of London, a fishmonger, two grocers, and two mercers. What the result of this commission was, Mr. Ruding says he has not found any documents to show; but another licence to pursue their art was granted to alchemists in a later year of the same king's reign. In the seventeenth of Edward IV., a letter was received by the Mayor of Coventry from the king, which shows that the hope of procuring gold cheaply, whether for coinage or for other purposes, by the aid of the mystic art, was still entertained in high quarters. It runs thus:—"Trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well, and lete you wite that it hath been shewed unto us that oure wele-beloved John Frensh, oure s'v'nt, con'inyng and com'only abydyng in oure cite ther, entendeth be his labr to practise a true and p'fitable conclusion in the cunning of transmutac'on of metalls, to oure pr'fyte and pleasure, and for to make a cler shewing of the same before certe oure s'v'nts and counsells by us therefor appointed, is required a certayn tyme to p'par his mat'ials; we not willing therfor oure seid s'v'nt to be trobled in that he shall so work or p'pare for oure pleasure and p'fite, woll and charge yewe that ye ne suffer hym in eny wyse by eny p'sone or p'sones to be letted, troubled, or vexed of his seid labour and practise, to thentent that he at his goode lib'te may shewe unto us, and such as be by us therfore appointed, the cler effect of his seid conclusion."

Henry VIII., too, shared in the same delusion; for there is among the Patent Rolls one showing that he had recourse to alchemy for the supply of his mint with bullion; he gave a patent to certain parties for practising that art, and speaks with the utmost confidence of being able soon to pay all his debts with real gold and silver produced by the *stone*—by which we are probably to understand the "philosophers' stone" of the alchemists.

When it is known that such a man as Bacon believed in the possibility of transmuting other metals into gold, we need not wonder that in an earlier age, and among men of less powerful mind, the same credulity prevailed.